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has accomplished, how it has set the pace for that which is best and noblest, but pride of race may lead us to ignore many elements from outside which have co-operated in these achievements and without which they would have been impossible. The hundred and twenty millions who speak English are not by any means all English. Considerable masses of them have no Anglo-Saxon blood in their veins. The great tides of immigration into English-speaking lands are rapidly changing the race from an Anglo-Saxon into a universal one. The Anglo-Saxon has led, but he had to have followers, and these followers have joined him, because they were very much like him and he like them. But for these general elements of likeness, growing out of a common humanity, no such absorption,—or union, for that is a better word—could ever have taken place. The glory of the follower is the same in kind as that of the leader.

Again, the Saxon race, though stubborn and unyielding, has been after all a changing race,—of course, according to its own racial law. No peoples have had revolutions more radical, far reaching and permanent in their effects. Nowhere else have justice, liberty and law made such progress. These triumphs have been wrested right out of the hands of Saxon tenacity, by a human rather than a Saxon love of right.

We do not think that Mr. Besant and other writers of his type who glory so much in Anglo-Saxon expansion make enough of the moral and religious forces which have wrought in these vast accomplishments. This great civilization which goes forth conquering and to conquer is not built up on restlessness and masterfulness and stubbornness of purpose, however impossible it would have been without them. These characteristics are not naturally virtuous. They have led Anglo-Saxons to do a lot of meanness in many quarters of the globe, and if they had not been *moralized* to a considerable extent by religious and ethical forces which have transformed them, they would have led to disintegration and ruin. What has made Anglo-Saxon civilization triumphant has been its moral and spiritual qualities. No other people have given themselves up so fully to truth and righteousness and love of the Divine will. It has been the great missionary race, opening up all lands by the gospel. It has carried with it everywhere the scales of justice, though it has often not set them up immediately on arrival. There have of course been Anglo-Saxons and Anglo-Saxons. It is the truth-and-liberty-loving, the righteousness-and-justice-practising Anglo-Saxons who have built up into permanency this vast English-speaking commonwealth and made it a coherent mass. It seems fairly clear also that Anglo-Saxonism is becoming increasingly moral and religious, and that therefore the dangers from its weaknesses are growing less. For this reason we do not share Mr. Besant's fear that it is probable that

the English-speaking nations will fall upon each other and be distracted and wasted by war, unless they make special provision against it. There still remain, we admit, chances of war, and we ought to have a court of arbitration to lessen or remove these chances, as he says. But much more ought we to have it and will we have it as the final and finishing feature of Anglo-Saxon civilization in its leadership of the world.

LORD RUSSELL'S ADDRESS AT SARATOGA.

The American Bar Association, composed of distinguished judges and lawyers from all parts of the country, has done a great service to the cause of good feeling between this country and Great Britain by bringing Lord Chief Justice Russell to address them at their recent annual meeting. This Association has become thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the movement for international arbitration as a permanent system. This is one of the best of omens, for no body of men can do more for its advancement. Last year when Justice Brewer in his address before the Association strongly urged the practicability of a permanent international tribunal, his sentiments were warmly applauded by most of his hearers.

It was inevitable, from the occurrences of the past year, that the subject would receive unusual attention at this year's meeting of the Association. It was brought into greater prominence by the anticipation of Lord Russell's visit and the announcement that he would speak on the subject. Great enthusiasm was awakened by his presence and address, and the subject was further discussed by members of the Association.

That our readers may have the privilege of reading and judging Lord Russell's address for themselves, we print a part of it, that dealing with international law in general, in this issue, and shall give the remainder of it, dealing with arbitration, next month. The general spirit of the address is admirable, and shows a mind thoroughly in sympathy with the great humane movement of our time. He looks at the subject not only from the standpoint of history but from that of duty as well. The moral leadership of Great Britain and the United States he recognizes, not in a boastful but in a serious way, and urges them not to be remiss in the great duty now before them.

We confess, however, that we are somewhat disappointed at his position in regard to a permanent tribunal. It is not the position generally held by jurists in this country, and his objections to such a tribunal, which seem to us rather fanciful and even out of date, will be found answered for the most part in the Mohonk addresses published in this number of the *ADVOCATE*. Even Lord Salisbury, whose conservatism about arbitration is well known, seems to have accepted the principle of a per-

manent tribunal, as reference to his draft of a proposed treaty with this country will show. We hold in much higher estimation than many do tribunals *ad hoc*, but we are of opinion that a permanent tribunal, or tribunals, of some sort will be found to be the necessary corollary of permanent treaties, whenever such treaties shall be begun to be made between the great powers. These nations are not likely to bind themselves by treaties of arbitration, without some knowledge beforehand of the kind of machinery to be used in the settlement of their disputes.

We are more surprised still that the Lord Chief Justice should repeat the oft-uttered statement that questions of honor and national integrity can not be arbitrated. Questions involving national honor, as any disagreement may do, have been arbitrated time and again. It is difficult to find a reason why the national honor would not always be indefinitely safer in the hands of an intelligent tribunal than under the edge of a senseless sword. It is incumbent on those who take Lord Russell's position to tell us what questions of honor can not be settled in this way. But this they never do. The whole subject is left in vagueness and obscurity. Questions of the national integrity, except so far as involved in boundary disputes which of course are arbitrable, ought never to be raised in connection with arbitration. They belong to another sphere. Arbitration treaties take for granted the national existence and respect for it, on both sides. Without this assumption they would never be made. Two nations which have reached the point of civilization where they solemnly agree to settle all differences between them by this means, have put to rest forever all questions touching their existence. If they should drift back into barbarism they might make attempts on each other's life, but in that case they would have got below the arbitral plane, and their arbitral treaties would have long since died.

But notwithstanding these defects, as they seem to us, the address of Lord Russell is a great one, and deserves the careful reading of every friend of peace.

THE SEVENTH UNIVERSAL PEACE CONGRESS.

The International Peace Bureau at Berne, to which was assigned the duty of preparing for the next International Peace Congress, has issued a circular giving the final arrangements for the Congress. The date of the meeting, the 17th of September, is two days later than heretofore announced, this change being rendered necessary by the change of time of holding the Interparliamentary Peace Conference, which meets at the same place. The Congress is to meet on the date given above in the Festival Hall of the Millennial Exhibition at Buda-Pesth, Austro-Hungary, and will continue in session till the 22d, omitting Sunday. The Bureau has prepared and published in the circular

the program of the Congress. It covers a number of important subjects, such as the Functions of the International Peace Bureau in Case of Danger of War, Treaties of Arbitration, A Permanent International Court, A Permanent International Commission for Africa, A Suspension of Armaments, A European Customs Union, Workingmen in Peace Societies and Congresses, Historical Reading Books and Text Books, International Intercourse, The Duel, etc. Careful preparations are being made for the Congress, which it is hoped will prove to be one of the most successful ever held. The government railroads and the committee of the Millennial Exhibition have generously consented to give important concessions to the members of the Congress. We hope that a considerable number of Americans may be present, though we fear that because of the distance, the lateness of the season and the number of peace conferences recently held in this country, the number may be small. The Congress will doubtless be attended by a large number of European delegates, and together with the Interparliamentary Conference, coming immediately afterwards, will certainly constitute one of the important events in the history of the peace movement. The Interparliamentary Peace Union has grown to be one of the most influential organizations in Europe, and it is growing every year more powerful. It is gradually bringing about a better state of feeling between European statesmen and its ultimate triumph over the present armed and irrational state of Europe we cannot in the least doubt. We hope that its approaching meeting at Buda-Pesth may prove to be a long step in this direction.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

Some of our subscribers failed to observe the notice given in our July number that no paper would be published in August. We gave twelve extra pages in our June number and eight in May. We add four pages this month, making twenty-four in all, or the full number of an entire ordinary issue. Our readers have, therefore, lost nothing by the omission of one number.

We much appreciate the words of commendation that come to us regarding the high character of the *ADVOCATE* and we shall do all in our power to make it a more and more worthy organ of the great cause which is winning new friends by legions.

Lord Salisbury's plan for the settlement of the Venezuela difficulty, included in the recently published correspondence between him and Secretary Olney, was an admirable one, if he had only stopped in time and not tacked a ruinous "proviso" to it. He proposed a commission of four, two Englishmen and two Americans, to investigate and report upon the facts affecting the rights of the Netherlands and of Spain respectively at the time